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175 This maladjustment is rooted in the weakness of the Portuguese-Brazilian colonization in this area. For the earlier and largely even the present fazendeiros of the sertão of Maranhão must not be pictured in the image of the landed gentry of Rio Grande do Sul or São Paulo. On the contrary, they have been predominantly recruited from among miserable and culturally backward folk. Owning a handful of livestock, they lay claim to hundreds of square kilometers of land, where they do little cultivation and nothing to promote law and order. Devoid of public spirit and social solidarity, each individual vegetates for himself. As long as he still fears his Indian neighbor, the settler will swallow his hatred and repugnance, flatter a *compadre* who meets him with self-assurance, play the part of a disinterested friend, and connive at stock lifting.

On the other hand, the feeble bandeira warfare and the infamous treachery of the trucebearers could hardly inspire the Indians with esteem for their civilized neighbors, nor did the colonists' affected amiability deceive the natives as to their true sentiments. The Indian still considers his hereditary territory as his own, irrespective of whether the settlers have duped a chief into permitting them to reside there. The native treats it as a foregone conclusion that he may, from time to time, appropriate a head of livestock from the herds kept on the Indian land—all the more so because hunting always decreases as the cattle increase. Ultimately a stage is reached when the tribe is so weak and settlers have encroached to such a degree that they drop the mask of friendship. Now the colonist assumes the role of lord and legal master of the entire tract: by chicanery, threats, violence, if not wholesale massacre, he tries to rid himself of his erstwhile *compadres*. This is the point reached by virtually all Timbira tribes nowadays; their scant remnants form only tiny enclaves within the territory occupied by Neobrazilian ranchers and farmers.

175 648 So far as they affect the Timbira, a few words suffice concerning the earlier governmental decrees and the present Indian Welfare Service (Serviço de Protecção aos Indios). Those ordinances issued in the interest of the Indians as a rule remained wholly futile; and the Welfare Service has likewise failed to abolish the principal abuses during the twenty-eight years since its establishment. An ideal institution on paper, it is rendered ineffective by administrative red tape, by the lack of suitable personnel, and the meager appropriations for so arduous an undertaking; moreover, the funds allotted sometimes fail to be disbursed for years. Though unable to prevent or punish the massacre of the Kénkateye in 1913, the Service nevertheless represents the Indians' sole official safeguard. It must be credited with having aided them in many minor difficulties; and they have often been saved from deeds of violence merely because the would-be perpetrators were afraid of the Indian agent in Barra do Corda. The revolution of 1930 rendered even this last protective agency on the Indians' behalf wholly ineffective.

Not a single Timbira tribe owns a square meter of land by Brazilian law or *de facto*. Ever since the fighting subsided, innumerable delegations of these tribes have petitioned the state and the federal government to stop further encroachments on their land. These embassies have always been amicably welcomed and assured of their rights, but there has never been the slightest effort to validate them. Instead of such legal recognition the Timbira have received governmental alms, such as clothing and tools. Even nowadays annual delegations turn up in the several state capitals, but they rarely mention land any more, contenting themselves with asking for gifts.

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north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioës settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pụkóbye *and* Krĩkatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pụkóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krĩkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krĩkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apạ́'nyekra to harbor them, the Krĩkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krĩkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pụkóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 32.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Einteilung und Verbreitung.

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6. The Pykóbye

The Pųkóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krîkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pųkóp or pǫkóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krîkatí, Kre'pų'mkateye, and occasionally the Rąmkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krîkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[a]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[a] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pųkóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pųkóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[a] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[a]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krîkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pųkóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

[a] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[a] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[a] J. F. Coelho, 76. [a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

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on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilized travelers.

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The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[a]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

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The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[b] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Sikrí Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

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Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

[a] Simões da Silva, 747–750.

[b] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

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619 175 361 After Magalhães' death the Krahõ' constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[73] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50', and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the [648] Krahõ', attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahõ' sorcerer.

619 131 114 In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahõ' on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[74] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahõ' had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[75] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahõ' territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40'. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their [161] total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahõ' settlements in the interior.

619 175 648 164 For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahõ' farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[76] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Savánte-Serénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahõ' permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[77] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[78] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahõ' owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahõ' chiefs.

619 144

115 101 In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tą'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahõ' village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[73] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[74] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[75] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[76] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[77] Tuggia, 122.
[78] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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619 101 To the Apą'nyekra, Krahõ' and Pụkóbye they are known as Kǫ'ikra, Kǫirumekra (eastern tribe, from kǫ'i east, kǫ'irum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;[200] yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

619 131 Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50', where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čą'kamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apą'nyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

619 721 175 Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čą'kamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempẽ', marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čą'kamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[201] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

619 175 648 Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čą'kamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempẽ' and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

619 648 173 Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempẽ', whose

[200] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.
[201] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

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name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempé"s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[369] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkõ'kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kõkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kõkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropką', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegieran-Apą'nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakókamekrere, actually Apą'nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkõ'kamekran).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkõ'kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čą'kamekra

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkõ'kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čą'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[369] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

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619 101 but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[169] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1781; likewise the form Berintim.[170]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrãn," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorã" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkõ'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

619 175 648 In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

619 175 721 The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[171] [174]

619 175 167 The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again. [173]

At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

[169] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[170] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.
[171] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

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291 177 a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

291 882 287 At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very carefully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrapping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[288] which does not hold for the Rąmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

302 831

292 When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

● 648 291 123 As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

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about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Ross appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g*; 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c*, *d*; cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c*, *d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[325]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimók. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[326]

[325] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [326] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[100] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[100] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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524 and they only rarely. The stilts are of burity leaf-stems and stepped so that the feet are at most 40 cm. above the ground. The part above the footrest is tied to the outside of the lower leg.

Cat's cradle.—Both young girls and young men make string figures, but those really conversant with cat's cradle are relatively few in number. I noticed ten distinct figures.

Dances.—The dances described above (p. 114 ff.) are the only social games of these Indians.

War and Peace

648 *Relations with outsiders.*—The Eastern Timbira are not nearly so amiable and
186 peaceable toward outsiders as are the Apinayé. The highest goal of their social
181 organization seems to have been to preclude any breach of internal peace, so that intratribally theft is rare and murder almost unknown; but in former times such conduct was apparently permitted toward aliens—a probable correlate of their greater or lesser hostility toward virtually all neighboring tribes. Traces of this ancient attitude may occasionally be observed even today with reference to Neobrazilian neighbors, especially among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. On the other hand, the mutual relations of the several tribes, though still far removed from a sense of national solidarity, have unquestionably improved. The point is simply that the native tribes no longer inspire one another with fear, while the latent animosity between Indians and Neobrazilians has remained uniform during the last hundred years or so.

175 At all events the Krahõ′ until 1809, the Rąmkõ′kamekra until 1814, the Krĩkatí
648 and Pụkóbye for about two decades after that, were all living in incessant feuds with both aboriginal and Neobrazilian neighbors.

721 Por qualquer ciume sobre limites de terras, sobre as caças, ou sobre os fructos de uma arvore, tornando-se implacaveis inimigos, fazem-se carnagens tão horrorosas, que chegam a destruir-se inteiramente.

(Through some jealousies over territorial boundaries, over hunting or the fruits of some tree, they become inexorable enemies and execute such horrible massacres as completely to destroy one another.)[m]

In the chapters dealing with conquest, colonization, and the history of the several tribes I have brought together details concerning these feuds (pp. 4 ff., 13 f.).

As for the Rąmkõ′kamekra specifically, their relations with neighboring groups were as follows:

648 The Guajajára to the northwest are recognized as ancient enemies, though details
721 as to former wars were no longer ascertainable. Possibly this animosity failed to assume extreme forms because the Rąmkõ′kamekra had no hankering for the forested territory of the Guajajára. These in turn never ventured out into the steppes,
[186] dreading and abhorring the Rąmkõ′kamekra and indeed all the Timbira, who requited the sentiment with contempt. As late as 1901, during the Guajajára uprising, this opposition expressed itself in the readiness, not to say zeal, with which the Rąmkõ′kamekra and the Kre′pụ′mkateye marched against the insurgents. As previously noted, competition for the supply of arrow cane in the north at the Caxoeira da Canna Braba of the Mearim led to occasional feuds between the Rąmkõ′kamekra and the Krẽyé of Bacabal. According to Ribeiro, the Čą′kamekra to the northeast were bitter enemies until 1814, when they inflicted upon our tribe a defeat that drove it into the arms of the Neobrazilians. Later the two groups made peace and finally fused. The Gamella of Codó, farther northeastward, who were not

[m] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.

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Timbira, remained hostile until their extinction, to which the Rąmkõ'kamekra contributed their share.[=] The southern frontier witnessed fights with the Neobrazilians, whose predecessors in that region are unknown. The Apą'nyekra to the west were not precisely hostile, but neither was there true friendship between these two Canella tribes, who in fact have not yet achieved that relationship.

Bravery.—Ribeiro, familiar with Timbira warfare through long years of personal experience, unreservedly bears witness to the great bravery of these Indians:

Fora-lhes algum tempo horrorosas as nossas armas de fogo, porem familiarizados com tudo o que nos diz respeito, até sabem que sem a bala ou chumbo, a mesma polvora não vale contra elles: e é isto tanto assim, que quando sentem haver semelhante falta, avançam destimidos para tiral-as das mãos aos soldados, o que tem muitas vezes acontecido. De braço a braço poucos homens apparecem que possem medir com elles a valentia; as mesmas indias não degeneram em robustesa, e já observamos uma que vindo prisioneira, quiz fugir levando debaixo do braço a sua sentinella, e o faria se não lhe tivessem acudido; era ella de bõa altura e tanto bem proporcionada que lhe chamavam nossos soldados a Lazan grande.

(Formerly our firearms inspired them with fear; but today, when they are familiar with everything concerning us, they even know that powder is impotent without bullets and shot, so that as soon as they note such deficiency they fearlessly advance, in order to snatch them [the weapons] out of the soldiers' hands, as has frequently happened. Man to man, there seem to be few men able to vie with them in point of bravery. Even the women are not inferior in robustness and we have seen one such brought in as a captive who tried to escape by dragging along her guard under her arm and would have succeeded if he had not received aid. She was of goodly stature and so well built that our soldiers dubbed her "the big sorrel mare.")[=]

And again:

Ha entre elles homens muito valorosos! Nos observamos em 1801 a coragem com que um gentio Capiekranz defendeu a sua liberdade contra doze soldados, que o surprehenderam quasi sem armas, e primeiro tiveram estes a crueldade de fazel-o em pedaços do que a gloria de prendel-o. Em 1807 observamos tambem a animozidade de um dos Timbiras das matas, que sahindo de certa emboscada ao meio de mais de cem homens nossos, que se distrahiam em differentes trabalhos, na occasião em que se estabeleceu o arrayal do Principe Regente, matou um delles, espancou outros, e retirou-se airosamente antes de poder ser ofendido.

(There are very brave men among them! In 1801 we observed the courage with which a Capiekranz [= Rąmkõ'kamekra] Indian defended his liberty against twelve soldiers who had surprised him almost unarmed and had rather the satisfaction of cruelly cutting him to pieces than the glory of capturing him. In 1807 we also observed the audacity of a Forest Timbira [= Ca'kamekra], who dashed from some ambush into the midst of over a hundred of our people employed with sundry tasks at the founding of the Arroyal do Principe Regente; he killed one man, attacked several others and dexterously withdrew before he could be made to suffer any injury.)[=]

At present the Timbira, weakened by defeat and disease, know that the overwhelming majority of their civilized neighbors are merely waiting for a pretext to pose as defenseless victims of Indian savagery, demanding corresponding coercive measures by officials and the government, or even to resort to such on their own initiative. Hence an Indian hesitates for a long time before reacting to Neobrazilian insults and threats, thus acquiring a character for "cowardice." But even nowadays the camel's back will break: not many years ago, in the presence of half a dozen people in front of a fazenda, the Rąmkõ'kamekra Wakái shot down a Neobrazilian with an arrow, when the man continued for a long time to vituperate the at first unresisting Indian and threaten him with death.

Tactics.—Against Neobrazilians the Timbira presumably applied surprise attacks from ambush, but against their own kind they were by no means afraid of open

[=] Nimuendajú, The Gamella, 8.
[=] Memoria, § 19.
[=] *Ibid.*, § 22.

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411 ceived a blade as a surface find from Krīkatí territory. Several Western Gaviões
171 specimens have been published; still another, reputedly Krahõ', departs so widely from all other Timbira equivalents in its decoration that I am inclined to doubt the provenience assigned to it."[80]

In my day the anchor axes did not linger even in ceremonial usage. I obtained my Rąmkõ'kamekra sample from an aged Indian woman reckoned my "aunt," but who was nevertheless censured by her other relatives for giving it to me. She had had it in custody since the death of its last owner, her brother Krąmpą'n. Of an afternoon or evening he was said to have occasionally held it in the plaza while singing "Yẽẽ heyõ kąire yẽẽ!," as well as the names of his ancestors. He had obtained the weapon from his uncle, Mąyapíri, a great warrior who is supposed to have used it in actual combat.

737 *Slayer's seclusion.*—The slayer of an enemy is called hukanã'ra (perseverer;
783 aukanã', persevere, imperative), or hąprẽ' (brave one). Directly after the killing he paints himself with charcoal and draws a broad red stripe across his mouth. As soon as he gets back to the village he goes into a month's retreat, during which period he sits on a special little platform bed and may neither laugh nor wash himself. His sustenance is restricted to roasted maize. At the close of his seclusion his mother or sister prepares manioc paste and his maternal uncle goes hunting, the flesh of the game killed providing material for three meat pies nearly a meter in diameter. The killer takes a bath and is decorated with falcon down. After the usual afternoon log race a youth brings firewood to the plaza and kindles a fire, near which the men, led by a precentor, sing the same song characteristic of the hõkrowatiyõ ceremony of the pepyé initiation (p. 198 f.). The decorated slayer steps among them and shouts a statement about his exploit. Before sunset the solemnity is over.

On the following morning the three pies are deposited on the boulevard in front of the slayer's maternal home. Admonished by the elders seated in the plaza to go through the whole procedure in proper fashion, the killer slowly advances toward the pies. Making the sign of a deer with the index and middle fingers of his uplifted hands, he imitates the snort of a shy deer. Thus he leaps over the food and proceeds toward the councilors, to whom he presents himself. These then have the pies fetched and divide them up among themselves.

648 *Treaties and alliances.*—Formal treaties and alliances occurred both between
175 Timbira groups and between such and Neobrazilians. To be sure, Ribeiro, supported
728 in this by Pohl, expresses a very derogatory opinion as to the value of such agreements:

> Sua inclinação para o roubo estranho é por tal forma excessiva que rompe toda a alliança logo que possam furtar uns poucos de pregos velhos.
>
> (Their inclination to rob outsiders is so extreme that they break any treaty as soon as they have a chance to steal a few old nails.)[81]

However, Ribeiro himself describes several instances in which a solemnly concluded pact was ruptured on trifling pretexts not by the Indians, but by the Neobrazilians. In 1815 he witnessed the entrance of from five to six hundred Põrekamekra into São Pedro de Alcantara in order to make peace:

> ... ás sete horas da manhã, entraram desarmados na povoação formando cada sexo uma columna que marchavam parallelas entre si, e á testa dellas vinha o seu chefe maioral chamado Cocrit, homem com 50 annos de edade, muito respeitado entre os seus, e de uma conducta tal, nesta administração que não parecia um barbaro selvagem.... Traziam elles todos uns ramos verdes nas mãos,

[80] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 69 f., 126–128; Rydén, Brazilian Anchor Axes, figs. 3 E, 6 C, 6 F; Simões da Silva, Machado crescente.

[81] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 20. Pohl, *supra*.

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signal caracteristico da paz, e ellas os braços encruzados; cantavam alternadamente, e não com aquella algazarra que é propria dos seus divertimentos; mas davam por alguma forma a conhecer, no assustado dos seus semblantes, a incerteza que tinham da sinceridade dos homens que vinham a communicar."

(...at 7 o'clock in the morning they marched into the place unarmed, each lineage forming a column marching parallel to the others, and headed by their paramount chief Coerit, a man of fifty, highly esteemed by his people and of such conduct in office that he did not seem to be a savage at all.... All the men were carrying green twigs in their hands, the characteristic emblem of peace, and the women had their arms crossed. They sang alternately and not with so much noise as distinguishes their amusements. However, the alarm in their facial expression indicated their uncertainty as to the trustworthiness of the men with whom they sought an understanding.)[252]

Here is the fate of these same Põrekamekra according to Ribeiro after they had settled near the spot two months later:

O chefe Coerit foi injustamente deposto, e retido como prisioneiro no logar, e sobre os demais imperou por tal forma a tyrannia dos hospedantes que fez confundir uma parte com os selvagens Macamekrans, e fugiro reste em desesperação.

(The chief Coerit was unjustly deposed and kept prisoner in the village, and the rest were so burdened by the arbitrary domination of their hosts that part of them fused with the wild Macamekrans (= Krahõ') and the rest fled in despair.)

There are certainly Timbira tribes who have during the last century lived in amity with others, viz. the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye; the Apạ'nyekra and Krahõ'; the Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Kukóekamekra. Further, some of the tribes never broke the treaties made with Neobrazilians, for example, the Apạ'nyekra, the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal, and the Kre'pụ'mkateye. Other tribes, once bitter enemies, have formally concluded peace and united, as did the Rạmkõ'kamekra and the Čạ'kamekra. The ceremonial exchange of two pre-centresses customary on such occasions has been described. The institution of honorary chiefs (p. 9) likewise proves that the Timbira attached more importance to permanent peace than to incessant hostility.

Visits.—Nevertheless mutual visits of Timbira groups, even when at peace, are not a simple affair. Several days after my first arrival among the Rạmkõ'kamekra I wished to visit the Apạ'nyekra, who lived only some fifty kilometers to the west. The two groups were on terms of peace, so I asked the councilors to let me hire a young man as guide and groom for my mount. To my astonishment this necessitated deliberations and negotiations protracted for days, and finally I was given for companions two men of mature years instead of the one young lad requested—one of the oldest councilors and another elder named Kopkré, whom I subsequently discovered to be a professional moderator and peacemaker. In reply to my subsequent query, why they had not provided *any* youth for the job, I learnt that that would have been inadvisable since a young man might easily commit some impropriety furnishing pretexts for hostilities and also causing me annoyance. However, such eventualities were not to be feared in the case of old Kentúm and the mediator Kopkré, whose sister, moreover, was married to an Apạ'nyekra.

In the hamlet of Porquinhos the chief, Chico Noleto Ka'kụ'lu, received me as his people are wont to receive strange "Christians." He regretted having nothing whatsoever to offer me and incessantly demanded rather than begged for anything that came into his head, using such phrases as, "What! You haven't even brought me such and such an object!" When I offered him some tobacco and a batch of cigarette paper, he refused to accept them on the ground that the present was insufficient, whereupon I calmly pocketed it, giving him nothing at all. At this point Kopkré displayed all his talents, introducing me to the second chief, an honorary chief

[252] Ribeiro, Memorja, §§ 66–67.

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among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara feathers required for the ketúaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãčą'.

In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto. The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f.

The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[556]

Law

Property.—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[557] among the Eastern Timbira, the land belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pukôbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[556] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 468.

[557] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengokrã Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --